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Date: 3/21/68

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

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ON 7-22-02 #40712/112713

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RMCLASS. & EXT. BY SP-4 Jem/alm
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.1
DATE OF REVIEW 3/1/88
PER RELEASE ON SWJ

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

Re Memphis LHM and airtel, 3/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM captioned and dated as above.

Three copies are enclosed for Atlanta, 2 for Chicago and 2 for WFO.

Copies are also being disseminated to the U. S. Attorney and U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and to regional offices of military intelligence.

Source one is ME 338-R (Ghetto) (u)

Source two is [redacted] (used in characterization of JAMES BEVEL) (u)

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 - 3 - Atlanta (Encs. 3) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1 - 100-JAMES BEVEL)
 - 2 - Chicago (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
 - (1 - JAMES BEVEL)
 - 2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-Sanitation Workers Strike)
 - (1 - 100-JAMES BEVEL)
 - 16 - Memphis
 - (1 - 157-1092)
 - (1 - 157-556, Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban areas)
 - (1 - 100-662, NAACP)
 - (1 - 157-166, SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-4105, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- (ADDITIONAL MEMPHIS COPIES PAGE 2)

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DATE 12/9/81SEARCHED _____
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Special Agent in Charge

100-4105-63

ME 157-1092

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COPIES (MEMPHIS)

- (1 - 157- , Rev. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK)
- (1 - 157-109, SNCC)
- (1 - 157-1000, JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS)
- (1 - 157-1018, CLINTON ROY JAMERSON)
- (1 - 100-4528, CHARLES L. CABBAGE)
- (1 - 157-957, JOHN B. SMITH)
- (1 - 157-1116 VERDELL BROOKS)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

- (1 - 170-70 Sub, ME 338-R(Ghetto) (S)(u)
- (1 - 157- , MILTON MACK)
- (1 - 66-1687 Sub A, Dissemination File)

LEADS:

ATLANTA, CHICAGO, AND WFO DIVISIONS

Copies are furnished to Atlanta and Chicago for information since SCLC is headquartered in Atlanta and BEVEL is known to have recently lived in Atlanta and Chicago. WFO is being furnished copies because of the impending "Poor Peoples' Camp-In" to begin 4/22/68.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 21, 1968

Re: **SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/81 BY SP-4 Jmf/alm
PER RELEASE ON SWS

On March 21, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that on the late afternoon of March 20, 1968, two small sympathy marches in support of the sanitation workers strike, Memphis, Tennessee, which began February 12, 1968, occurred in downtown Memphis averaging approximately 75 persons in each march. These marches originated at Clayborn Temple and terminated at the Memphis City Hall. The first march consisted primarily of adults and the second march primarily consisted of school age children, mostly teenagers.

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of March 21, 1968, reported that leaders of the striking sanitation workers say that the long strike could be ended quickly if the City Council which reconvenes at 4:30 p.m., March 21, 1968, would approve an ordinance offered by Councilman J. O. Patterson, Jr., male Negro, to authorize a payroll deduction of Union dues, pointing out that the Council will meet on the eve of a planned sympathy march throughout downtown Memphis on March 22, 1968, to begin at 9 a.m. to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The paper quoted P. J. Ciampa, International Representative for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, as saying, "Certainly we'd go back to work after we get some smaller points resolved." Ciampa stated that the dues check-off is the "big stumbling block" to settlement of the 5-week-old walkout. Other unclarified issues are those of written contracts and pay increases.

At a meeting held at St. Louis Catholic Church on the night of March 21, 1968, according to the paper, Mayor Loeb spoke. He stated that he would have no objection to individual sanitation workers, the City Employees' Credit Union, and the Union negotiating a dues-payment agreement whereby the sanitation workers who are members of the Credit Union could ask that the organization deduct the \$4.00 a month Labor Union dues from their

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pay checks and issue a check to the worker who would then turn it over to Union officials.

He further said he would have no objection to Labor Union officials being present when the sanitation workers receive their pay checks and collecting the Union dues from the employees at that time.

The paper stated that the Patterson ordinance does not specifically provide for dues' check-off for City employees but does say that payroll deductions may be made at the employees' request for contributions to charitable organizations, health insurance, credit unions, and other City employee group plans.

Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, on March 21, 1968, pointed out that the Memphis police will have no alternative but to allow the massive March 22, 1968, sympathy march to march on the streets of downtown Memphis due to the expected 10,000 to 15,000 participants. He stated that the march was scheduled to leave Clayborn Temple not later than 9 a.m., to march north on Hernando to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, north on Main to Poplar, east on Poplar to Second Street, and south on Second to Beale, returning to Clayborn Temple where it would disperse. Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that there is a concerted effort on the part of the strike sympathizers led by a group of Negro ministers, plus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to have all junior high and high school Negro students in Memphis stay away from school to support the sympathy march and that many Negro businesses are permitting their employees to take the day off for the march. He stated that for this reason, he anticipates a large turnout, particularly in view of the fact that Martin Luther King, Jr., who is a nationally known figure, will be a key participant in the march.

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On March 21, 1968, a first source, who is most conversant with all key activities in the Negro community of Memphis, pointed out that he predicts 10,000 to 20,000 participants in the march, basing his prediction on the fact that some 13,000 turned out on the night of March 18, 1968, to hear King when he spoke at Mason Temple. He pointed out that every high school in Memphis which has Negro students, with an estimated 13,000 Negro high school students, has been saturated with leaflets urging all students to remain away from school and that a saturation is also being conducted at the junior high schools, which he estimated to have some 20,000 Negro students. He pointed out that a concerted effort is being made at all of the universities and colleges in Memphis to have students leave those institutions to participate in the march and that the major Negro businesses in Memphis, including Universal Life Insurance Company, Union Protective Life Insurance Company, North Carolina Mutual and Atlanta Life, have all told their employees, which would total several hundred, that they should take off and participate in the march. He stated that the Teamsters Union, the Firestone Local of the United Rubber Workers Union, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, and the United Auto Workers Union at the International Harvester Plant, which has about 1,000 Negro employees, have all promised mass turnouts on the part of their employees to participate in the march.

James Bevel, one of King's key workers, according to source one, has remained in Memphis since March 18, 1968, and has been working in concert with Harold Middlebrook, 257 Walker, a male Negro, in organizing college and high school students to participate in the march.

Source one advised that on March 20, 1968, Bevel and Middlebrook were taken to LeMoyne College, Memphis, by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, who have admitted to source being members of the black power group in Memphis known as Black Organizing Power (BOP). Phillips and Jamerson arranged for a nonscheduled meeting at the Student Center, LeMoyne College, at noon on March 20, 1968, with approximately 75 to 100 LeMoyne students attending. Bevel was the main speaker and

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the host was a young white dramatics instructor, understood to be named Lee. Bevel, who source described as about 5 feet 8 inches tall, weighing 170 pounds, light complected, with a receding hairline, now has a full beard and a full mustache. He gave a most virulent black power talk, claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negroes in the United States in some form of genocide, and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in foreign aid than it does to black countries such as those in Africa. Bevel claimed that while the Negroes or black men welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these people are not really sincere, that they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro, and he suggested that his listeners read several black revolutionary books. He particularly urged them to read "The Wretched of the Earth," by Frantz Fanon.

Source one stated that Charles Laverne Cabbage, the titular leader of the Black Organizing Power (BOP), a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) oriented group in Memphis, and that John B. Smith, who along with Charles S. Ballard, Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks, all of Owen College, who came to the meeting, stated that Cabbage is staying in the background for the present time and that he is the over-all organizer and coordinator and planner of the black power movement in Memphis. Bevel told the students that they should cease dancing and playing cards and wasting their time and should come into the black power movement and dedicate themselves to its cause. He urged all of the LeMoyne students to appear at Clayborn Temple as early as 7 a.m., March 22, 1968, to participate en masse in the Martin Luther King-led sympathy march for the sanitation workers strike.

John B. Smith and his group stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools with the walking students to participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march.

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Source one stated that James Bevel was scheduled to speak at a mass rally at Lane Avenue Baptist Church on the night of March 21, 1968. Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they planned to also canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, and Christian Brothers College later on March 21, 1968, and to appear at Owen Junior College, a Negro institution, on March 21, 1968. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group has also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis.

Source one pointed out that there appeared to be two young militant groups working in support of the sanitation strike. One of these groups is the BOP group headed by Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith and the other is a small undisciplined group of young militants headed by two male Negroes, both of whom have already been arrested in connection with the strike, namely John Henry Ferguson, male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, who resides at 1279 Pennsylvania, and Willie James Jenkins, male Negro, age 18, born August 31, 1949, and residing at 86 West McLemore.

Source one pointed out that Jenkins and Ferguson have a small group of 12 teen-age followers, all militant, who loaf at the headquarters of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, set up in the Hotel Peabody in Memphis, and that in his considered opinion from this group will come those who will engage in sporadic acts of vandalism throughout Memphis, such as throwing Molotov cocktails into cars and against the homes of the sanitation workers who are continuing to work.

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At the LeMoyne meeting, according to source one, Bevel told the students that in addition to reading the black nationalist literature described above, they should all read "Muhammad Speaks," the official newspaper of the Nation of Islam, headed in Chicago, Illinois, nationally by Elijah Muhammad. He pointed out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of black power philosophy all with the exception of the religious acts aspect, whereby Muhammad claims Allah as his god. He told the students to ignore the religious aspect of the Nation of Islam and merely to follow the economic and political aspects propounded therein.

Bevel then told some of the people present, particularly Milton Mack, a fairly recent recruit into the BOP group and who is older, former student at LeMoyne College, that he, Bevel, plans within the next year to form a new black power organization throughout the United States, pointing out that it would probably supersede SNCC and would take in remnants of the varied, uncoordinated black power groups now existing throughout the United States. He wants to build this into a united effort to have tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Bevel, while an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk, shocking some of the women who were present, and it was noted that the Physical Education Instructor left the meeting after some of these vulgarities were spoken by Bevel. The Dramatics Professor, believed to be (First Name Unknown) Lee, wanted the students to encourage Dr. Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne, to declare March 22, 1968, an official holiday in order that they could have mass support for the march, whereas Phillips and Jamerson claimed that they need not go through the Administration as they did not like Dr. Price and that the students would take off anyway.

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Bevel indicated that Martin Luther King would probably not return to Memphis until late on March 21, 1968, or even until the early morning of March 22, 1968. He stated that he will be here only long enough for the march as has a tight schedule and that the march would definitely have to start by 9 a.m., in order to fit in with King's schedule. He did not elaborate.

Later on March 21, 1968, according to source one, John B. Smith and Charles Ballard commented that they had been willing to form a "action group" to work on behalf of the Union, but that the Union leaders were afraid of them and would not fund them with money. Source one pointed out that very definitely the Jenkins and Ferguson faction is not a part of the Cabbage-Smith BOP group, at least to this point, and that Ferguson and Jenkins appear to be followers of Harold Middlebrook. Bevel stated that Criminal Court Judge Ben Hooks, a Negro, who is also pastor of the Middle Baptist Church, of which Middlebrook is Assistant Pastor, and who is on the National Executive Board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is hoping to bring the national convention of the SCLC to Memphis for 1968. Source one continued that Middlebrook had formerly worked with King and his group in Atlanta and Birmingham and that he understood that Middlebrook took some of his theological training in Atlanta. He stated that Middlebrook appears to be particularly close to the SCLC, Bevel and King. Source one pointed out that Bevel is a most effective speaker, particularly with regard to young people; that he preyed upon their feelings of avarice and envy, claimed that the white man will purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods in this country; and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, to control raw material, and to utilize his talents. He stated that the black man is presently not capable of doing this and pointed out as an illustration that "you could put all of the Negroes in the United States on a large island and have all of the necessary raw materials planted not more than two feet deep, and yet they could not survive because they would not have the know-how and the ability to utilize the raw material by turning the raw material into utilitarian products necessary for their survival." He pointed out these were some of the problems

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that the black man had to overcome before he could control the United States. Bevel indicated that he and his wife, Diane Nash Bevel, have been separated for some time and are possibly divorced.

It definitely appeared to source one that Bevel is organizing for the future. It was significant that thus far since SCLC people have been in Memphis, there has been little or no talk of their recruiting supporters for Martin Luther King's proposed "Poor Peoples' Camp-In," to begin in Washington, D. C., April 22, 1968, although source one pointed out that King will probably try to get commitments from various Memphians prior to his departure.

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March, 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side W. E. B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as Communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full-scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this Bevel was

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overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source two)

(Characterizations of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) are set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On March 21, 1968, the information furnished by source one was orally furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, and to William Bray, 11th Military Intelligence Corps, Memphis, Tennessee.

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

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MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee
March 21, 1968

Title: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE,
 MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned
 as above prepared at Memphis,
 Tennessee.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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